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MARCH MEETING, 1891.

THE stated meeting was held on Thursday, the 12th instant, at three o'clock, P.M., the President, Dr. GEORGE E. ELLIS, in the chair.

The record of the February meeting was read and approved; and the Librarian read the list of donors to the Library. Among the accessions was a copy of Brown's "Genesis of the United States," which was sent to the Library by Mrs. Charles Deane, agreeably to a request of Mr. Deane in his last sickness.

Messrs. William W. Goodwin, Henry W. Haynes, and Solomon Lincoln were appointed a committee to nominate a list of officers to be balloted for at the Annual Meeting; the Hon. Leverett Saltonstall and Mr. Henry G. Denny a committee to audit the Treasurer's accounts; and Mr. Stephen Salisbury, the Hon. Mellen Chamberlain, and Mr. William P. Upham a committee to examine the Library and Cabinet.

The PRESIDENT then said: —

We are again called to recognize the loss of one from that group of our associates which from the earliest years of our Society it has always held in the highest regard for their service to our community, not directly in the fields of historical or literary work, but as honored citizens filling eminent places in civic and fiduciary trusts. The late Samuel Crocker Cobb counted his membership here as among the privileges of his blameless, faithful, and distinguished career. Public service in laborious and most responsible offices was rendered by him with eminent fidelity and ability. His funeral rites gathered an assemblage of citizens representing among us those whose award of esteem is given only to elevation and worth of character. The magistrates of the city in their official attendance paid their tribute to him as having as the chief among them won the confidence and approval of his whole constituency. It may be said of him as our Mayor, that his administration was so wise and pure and effective of good, that the citizens might

have wished that the tenure of his office could have been continuous, like that of a judge, instead of by annual election. His business ability, judgment, and acquired experience placed him at the head of our most responsible trust corporations. In private life his friendships were among those whose esteem attaches only to those of full desert. We can but place upon our records our tribute to the personal qualities and virtues which made his presence here so welcome in life, and which will give him a treasured place in our remembrance.

Mr. ABBOTT LAWRENCE being called on said : —

At your request, Mr. President, as well as to indulge my own feelings, I rise to pay a brief tribute of love and respect to the memory of our late lamented associate and friend, although I cannot hope, nor do I expect, to add anything of interest to what has been already said, and so justly said, on various occasions, by others.

I knew Mr. Cobb in his boyhood in Taunton. He was a frank, manly, joyous boy, not averse to mischief and brimming over with fun. Even now I seem to hear his merry, ringing laugh, as in bygone days. He was fitted for college at the Bristol Academy, intending to enter Harvard in the class of 1842 ; but family circumstances obliged him to abandon a collegiate course, — a step which he never ceased to regret. On coming to Boston at the age of sixteen he entered the counting-room of the Messrs. Cunningham, merchants on Rowe's Wharf, where he remained until his majority. After leaving them, to begin business for himself, he made several voyages to the North of Europe, to the Mediterranean, and to South America. He was never more agreeable and entertaining than when recounting his experiences of the sea, for which he had a strong natural fondness. He was familiar with every part of a ship, from her fore-foot to her rudder-post, from her keel to her main truck. He was a born sailor. I have always thought that the country lost a great naval officer in Mr. Cobb ; for he had, as I have said, a genuine love of the sea, was constitutionally brave, possessed rare administrative and executive capacity, and a talent for command. He would have been at home on the quarter-deck.

After a successful and honorable career as a merchant, he was summoned by an almost unanimous vote to the chief magistracy of this city. I need not speak of him here in that high office. Around us are the enduring monuments of his wise and beneficent administration. Suffice it to say that, sustained by the popular verdict for three years, he left a record of enlightened and efficient service unsurpassed in our municipal annals. He was indeed a model mayor, laborious, vigilant, sagacious, far-seeing, fearless, incorruptible.

As actuary of the Massachusetts Hospital Life Insurance Company, he devoted himself with his wonted painstaking care and conscientious fidelity to the discharge of the duties that devolved upon him. During the thirteen years that he filled that responsible position, our intercourse was constant, almost daily; and I can bear abundant testimony to the eminent services he rendered, and their great value to the institution of which he was the executive officer. He possessed the qualities which especially fitted him for the management of such trusts as are held by that company, and he exercised these qualities with the highest sense of responsibility. In the conduct of the business he was conservative, yet wisely progressive, and liberal in his views and aims for meeting the increasing demands of the period. He was ambitious of making his administration as honorable as those of his predecessors; and in this he was successful, as during his term of office the institution enjoyed uninterrupted prosperity and continued growth in the volume of its affairs.

Mr. Cobb was a man of marked individuality, and he impressed himself upon all who came in contact with him. He had strong convictions, and always the courage to defend them. As has been well said of him, "he cared nothing for majorities, and was content to stand alone if he thought he was right." He was a man to rely on in any emergency, for he had inherited the best qualities of his Puritan ancestors. He knew not fear, moral or physical. In his eloquent and admirable address on "The Puritan Spirit," Dr. Storrs says, "Whoever has a true Puritan behind him in any stress of contention and struggle may know that there is one on whose succor and support he can steadfastly depend. A law of Nature is scarcely less mutable. The poise of the planet is hardly more constant." "The Guard may die, but it never surrenders." It seems to

me that Mr. Cobb exemplified in himself this vivid portraiture of the Puritan character. He was moderate in the pursuit of wealth, having no passion for accumulation. He valued money for its uses and because it gives independence. With his first-rate business talents and ample experience he might have made a larger fortune had he been willing to take greater risks, but, as an eminent merchant and capitalist used to say of himself, "he preferred to keep in shallow water, not because it was shoal, but because he knew exactly how deep it was."

Mr. Cobb had a wide grasp for affairs, and knew how to accomplish great results; he understood men, and he was seldom mistaken in his judgment of them. He combined a rigid sense of justice and extreme tenderness of feeling. He was broad and warm in his sympathies, and always ready to aid and encourage every movement to promote the public good. His advice was constantly sought, not only by his friends, but by many who knew him merely by reputation. More than one large subscription for charity has been started at his instance. Its success was never doubtful, because he did not rest until he had aroused the interest of others, and insured its completion. Whatever he did, he did it with his might.

I could speak more at length of his personal traits and of his upright and manly character, — honor, integrity, sincerity, pervaded his whole nature and controlled his life, — but I have said enough to show what manner of man he was, and how much has been taken from us. If human life is measured by virtuous and unselfish deeds, then was his well rounded. He has finished his course. He is enrolled among our honored dead, and he has left his bright example as a legacy to this community.

Mr. SAMUEL F. MCCLEARY then spoke of Mr. Cobb's public life: —

It is my purpose to speak of Mr. Cobb's public career; for it was in that relation that my acquaintance with him began, — an acquaintance which ripened with the passing years and became to me a precious possession, but is now a sacred memory.

By the annexation of Roxbury, in 1867, the city of Boston gained a large area of territory, some additional public buildings, and a desirable population. But among its best acquisitions, better in many respects than its acres and edifices, were some valuable and conspicuous *citizens* whom it had a right thenceforward to call its own. Among these was our lamented friend, who, immediately upon the union of the two municipalities, was unanimously elected upon the Board of Aldermen of Boston, having previously served the city of Roxbury in a similar capacity during the years 1861 and 1862. Unassuming but firm, diligent without pretence, a foe to all shams, and an enemy to political tricksters of all sorts, he managed whatever matters were committed to his charge with the direct and steady purpose of promoting the public welfare. With this single aim he not only retained the affection of his acknowledged friends, but he also won and held the respect of his political opponents.

With the experience of a year's service in the Board of Aldermen, he was elected the chief magistrate of this city in 1873 by a large majority. Bringing to that position the knowledge of men and affairs which he had acquired as an Alderman, he administered the office of Mayor in a most exemplary and honorable manner. He elevated and sustained so admirably the dignity and the prerogatives of his official station, and he created by sheer force of his integrity and uprightness such an atmosphere in the mayoralty, that no mere intriguer or schemer dared encounter his presence.

He brought to the management of affairs at the City Hall his best qualities as a man of business; and with his thorough knowledge of all departments of the government he required them, by the example of his own rectitude and the impress of his strong individuality, to be conducted honestly and economically. He was, indeed, as Mr. Lawrence has aptly said, "a model mayor." He served the city in that capacity for three successive years, after which he declined to be again a candidate. During his term of office he inaugurated and successfully advanced three great enterprises, which have secured to the city of Boston a large measure of health, comfort, and purity. These enterprises involved the expenditure of large sums of money, and they required in their conception and execution that clear vision and unerring sagacity which Mr. Cobb not

only possessed himself, but was able, by persuasion, to impart in some degree to others.

The extensive plan of connected public parks, so wisely projected by the commission instituted and selected by him; the admirable system of improved sewerage, which underruns our thoroughfares and discharges the contents of thirteen miles of sewers into the harbor at Moon Island; and the seizure of the waters of Sudbury River and of Farm Pond as important auxiliaries to our water supply, — were the results of his most thoughtful and energetic efforts, and they will indissolubly connect his name with these great public works. Fortunate, indeed, was it that these enterprises were originated and undertaken by an administration characterized by ability and economy.

Inheriting from his distinguished grandfather a pure and lofty patriotism, he improved every occasion to foster and strengthen its spirit. Accordingly, during his term of office in 1875, he participated cordially and efficiently in the centennial observance of the battle of Bunker Hill, on which occasion our late associate, Judge Devens, delivered his eloquent address.

Through a special message to the City Council, he also recommended the necessary proceedings which urged and led the Congress of the United States to carry out, in 1881, the long-deferred purpose of erecting a column on the field of Yorktown, Virginia, to commemorate the surrender of Cornwallis and the close of the Revolutionary War; and on this occasion our present senior member, Mr. Winthrop, delivered his memorable historic address before the dignitaries of the United States, and the distinguished gentlemen of France and Germany who were specially commissioned to represent our ancient auxiliaries at the observance of these important events.

At his suggestion, also, which he pushed with patriotic pride, there was erected in the area of the City Hall a bronze statue of Josiah Quincy, the second Mayor of Boston, whose character he always admired, and whose executive ability was largely repeated in himself.

In 1869 he was elected director for the public institutions of the city of Boston, — a position which he held for five successive years, where his just interest in the amelioration of the

condition of the insane persons under his charge led Gov. William B. Washburn to appoint him upon the commission which was authorized to select a site in Northeastern Massachusetts for a new State Lunatic Hospital and to erect a suitable building thereon. In pursuance of this appointment the conspicuous site was purchased, and the extensive and commodious building now known as the Danvers Lunatic Asylum was erected on that location.

In 1884 he was appointed by Mayor Martin chairman of a commission to examine all the acts relating to the city of Boston, and to report what amendments were necessary thereto, with a view to a more honest administration of the government, and to a wiser economy in the methods of taxation and in the expenditure of the public funds. This commission presented a voluminous report, recommending various amendments to the city charter, many of which were enacted, and are in operation to-day.

The new Hospital Life Insurance building, at 50 State Street, which was erected in 1885, under his auspices as actuary of the society, is a conspicuous example of his foresight and sagacity; for this grand conception, successfully completed in spite of some timid opposition, was the means of restoring to that financial centre its prestige and value, which had already begun to decline.

Mr. Cobb was personally, in all his dealings and in every capacity, an upright and downright man in the best meaning of those terms. His only incentive of action was a high sense of public duty. With positive convictions of duty which always accorded with truth and justice, and never with expediency simply, he was equally fearless in their expression. He was a generous supporter of every laudable enterprise, and his name upon a petition was at once an endorsement of its merits and an augury of its success. He was very thorough in all his work. It was never disfigured by loose construction or a ragged edge. It was always uniform and compact. Punctuality in the performance of promises and promptness in attendance on all duties were sources of a just pride. Men like Mr. Cobb are the salt of society. It is a pity they are so rarely found in any community. To them the people instinctively turn in every exigency for that leadership and direction which alone can guide them safely, and which they will faith-

fully and confidently support. In the various relations of private life he was ever constant and true, and to such as enjoyed the privilege of a closer friendship he was always sincere, generous, and faithful.

By his death this Society has lost a most worthy member. We shall miss for a long time his manly presence, his dignified bearing, his cordial greeting, and his attractive smile. Let us hope that his influence, which so often affected and guided his fellow-men, will still pervade this community, which he largely benefited and greatly honored.

Mr. McCleary was followed by Mr. WINSLOW WARREN, who said:—

At a recent meeting of another society of which Mr. Cobb had long been a most prominent, active, and beloved member, I undertook to sketch briefly his character and services. So much has since been said in eulogy of him to show the depth of sincere feeling his loss has caused to this community, that I can add but little, and that mainly in reference to his connection with this Society. His friends are in every sphere of life in numerous societies in which he was an honored associate, and it is a great tribute to his high character and influence that wherever he was known the same estimate was placed upon the value of his life work. As a member of this Society he did not profess to be an historical scholar, but he was thoroughly interested in historical work, and appreciative of results secured by those whose habit of mind and previous training enabled them to pursue such researches with judgment and success. To all such efforts he gave hearty and substantial encouragement, while for himself he stood among us simply as an upright, public-spirited citizen, whose time was fully occupied in doing his duty to the community, and thus illustrating by conspicuous public service and honest administration of private affairs the best type of American citizenship. In a learned and scholarly society like this the example of a true, honest, independent man, whose life has been faithfully given to practical business matters, is by no means lost, for it brings to the aid of the student and the historian the very qualities needed to insure the stability and continuance of their efforts to dignify history by the investigation and

annunciation of historic truths. And such a man was our departed friend ; public service was with him completely a public trust, administered with scrupulous integrity and utter fearlessness, while in all the private affairs of life he bore himself with an honesty of purpose which won the respect and confidence of all. He never forgot that he came of an ancestry ennobled by faithful devotion to the country in her direst need. *Noblesse oblige* was ever in his mind, — not the nobility of rank or station, but that conferred by brave deeds in war and high civic virtues.

His sympathy with educational efforts was warm and constant, and his interest in philanthropic, religious, and charitable enterprises is best evidenced by the many official positions he held at his death in important and well-known societies and associations. Wherever he was a member he was an active and influential one, and those who have known him here will recall his constant presence at our meetings, and deeply regret that we are henceforth to be deprived of his valuable counsel and advice.

Mr. James M. Bugbee was appointed to write a memoir of Mr. Cobb for the Proceedings, and the Rev. O. B. Frothingham a memoir of President James Walker, in place of Prof. Henry W. Torrey, who was obliged to relinquish the duty on account of impaired health.

Rev. Dr. EGBERT C. SMYTH presented a number of original papers relating to the construction and first occupancy of Fort Dummer, and to a conference with the Scatacook Indians held there, and spoke in substance as follows : —

One hundred years ago this month Vermont was admitted into the Union. In recalling the events which led up to this result, a Montpelier newspaper begins the narration with Fort Dummer. It says : —

“ The first civilized settlement within the present limits of Vermont was made in 1724 by the erection of Fort Dummer in the township of Brattleboro. The territory had been the frontier ground of warring tribes, and had been permanently occupied neither by Indian nor pale-face. From the date of the establishing of Fort Dummer, surveys began to be made, and civilization began to claim the land.”

This historical significance of Fort Dummer in respect to the permanent settlement of Vermont is recognized by approved authorities ; and yet more widely its value to the early colonists in the valley of the Connecticut as an outpost for their protection.

For these reasons I have thought that this Society may be pleased to receive and preserve the originals of some unpublished letters and other papers relating to the construction and first occupancy of this fort, together with a record of a conference held either within it or in its vicinity, perhaps at Northfield, in 1728, between representatives of the Government and of the Scatacook Indians.

With these papers I have associated, as a running comment, extracts from other documents, chiefly manuscript, preserved in the Massachusetts State Archives. For clearness and convenience, I will enumerate here the papers, ten in number, which are now offered :—

1. An Order, signed by John Stoddard, *Pacis Justitarius*, empowering and requiring Lieut. Timothy Dwight to impress necessary means for building “ the Block House above Northfield ” [Fort Dummer].
2. Letter from Lieut.-Gov. Dummer to Capt. Timothy Dwight, March 16, 1724.
3. Letter from Col. John Stoddard to Capt. Timothy Dwight, May 22, 1724.
4. Letter from Lieut.-Gov. Dummer to Capt. [Timothy] Dwight, June 24, 1724.
5. Muster Roll of Capt. Timothy Dwight's Company at Fort Dummer, June 1 [1724] to Nov. 30 [1724].
6. Muster Roll of the Same, Dec. 1, 1725, to May 31, 1726. [This roll is endorsed for payment by J. Willard, Secretary.]
7. Muster Roll of the Same, June 1, 1726, to Nov. 30, 1726.
8. Letter from Lieut.-Gov. Dummer to Capt. Timothy Dwight, Dec. 28, 1725.
9. Letter from Col. John Stoddard [to Capt. Timothy Dwight], March 26, 1726.
10. Record of a Conference with the Scatacooks, held by Col. Stoddard, Capt. Dwight, Esq., and Capt. Pomeroy, on the part of the English, June 6-7, 1728.

The dates of these documents show that they fall, with two exceptions, into the time of Dummer's or Lovewell's War, 1722-1726. This was really but a fresh outbreak of hostili-

ties which had never been quelled. Though there was peace between England and France, Canada and the Provinces, the Indians began anew their raids, capturing nine families at Merrymeeting Bay, burning Brunswick, and committing other outrages. In close sympathy with them were the St. Francis Indians, who hovered upon the northwestern frontiers and threatened the plantations and towns in the valley of the Connecticut. The need was great and urgent of a fortification higher up the river which could afford a base for scouting-parties, send timely warnings of an approaching foe, and check its progress.¹ There was also the insatiable craving for new lands and homes.

Dec. 27, 1723, the House of Representatives voted :—

“It will be of great service to all the western frontiers, both in this & the neighbouring government of Connecticut, to build a Block House above Northfield, in the most convenient place on the land call'd the Equivalent Land, & to post in it forty able men, English & western Indians, to be employed in scouting at a good distance up Connecticut River, West River, Otter Creek, & sometimes eastwardly above Great Manadnuck, for the discovery of the enemy coming towards any of the frontier towns ; and that so much of the said Equivalent Land as shall be necessary for a Block House be taken up, with the consent of the owners of the said land, together with five or six acres of their intervail land, to be broke up or plowed for the present use of the western Indians (in case any of them shall think fit to bring their families thither).”

The duty of carrying this order into effect was intrusted to Col. John Stoddard, who writes to Lieutenant-Governor Dummer, Feb. 3, 1724 :—

“I have Committed the oversight of the Work about the Block-house to Lieut^{nt} Dwight, & given him Instructions about the building according to the Projection I sent to your Honour.”²

Four days earlier he issued the commission which stands first in the series of papers of which I have just given a list, and which reads as follows :—

TO LIEUT TIMOTHY DWIGHT

In His Majesty's Name you are hereby Authorized, employed, & required to Impress Horses, Utensils, & any other thing necessary

¹ Upon the value of the fort, see an interesting and important letter from Colonel Stoddard, Mass. Archives, vol. lii. pp. 87, 88.

² Mass. Archives, vol. lxxii. p. 159.

to enable you to prosecute the building of the Block House above Nthfield.

Dated at Nth Hampton this thirty-first day of Jan^r in tenth year of His Majesty's Reign, Anno^e Domⁿⁱ, 1723³.

JOHN STODDARD *Pac^s Just^{us}*

Mr. Dwight was then in his thirtieth year. He was becoming known as a public surveyor, and was an officer in Captain Kellogg's company at Northfield. The next letter refers to a survey he had made of this town in 1720, and expresses the writer's appreciation of Mr. Dwight's fitness for his post.

BOSTON, 16th March, 1723[-4].

I have your Letter dated the 7th instant. I was well informed of your Capacitee for the Service you are in or I should not have placed you there, & I doubt not of your Industry & fidelity. In a Short time you shall have the necessary instructions for your Government therein. As to Liberty for Exchangeing some of your People for more able Effective Soldiers you may do it as occasion requires takeing the advice & approbation of Coll^l Partridge & Coll^l Stoddard In all Such Exchanges. When you have Leisure & it shall be no Impediment to the Service I shall be glad that you will make the Draughts you formerly took of that division of the Equivalent Lands¹ more pfect & send it to me & if you have not a Copy of that plan by you I will send you the original if it be necessary

Yrs

W^m DUMMER.

Cap^t TIM^o DWIGHT

The extract which I have given from Colonel Stoddard's letter of February 3 seems to imply that the plan of the fort was sent to Boston from Northampton. Colonel Stoddard's military experience and his special acquaintance with the needs of the northwestern frontier and with Indian warfare would qualify him to make the design, and it may well have been drawn by the skilful draughtsman to whom he committed the work of construction. In the same letter he refers to a plan sent by the Lieutenant-Governor, and says:—

"I don't understand it, but am sensible the cost of building according to that will be much greater than in the way I proposed. M^r Dwight will goe this day to the place with four Carpenters, twelve Souldiers with narrow axes, and two Teams. I suppose they will hew all the Timber both for the fort and Housing before they return, I hope the fort and

¹ For explanation of this phrase, see Temple and Sheldon's "History of the Town of Northfield," pp. 154, 155.

Houses will be framed & set up this month. Cap^t Kellogs ten Supernumerary men are turned over to the other Company, and two more added which makes the number Col. Partridge was ordered to raise, and orders are given for the exchange of a few of Kellogs most Ineffective men, for such Inhabitants as are driven from their lands.

“. . . I presume your Honour Intends a Second to M^r Dwight at the Block-House, Cap^t Kellog tells me that Dwight is desirous that Elisha Searl should be with him, he is at present a Serjeant under Cap^t Kellog, was put in at the request of the Assembly, at his return from Canada, where he had long been a Prisoner, he seems to be a discreet, and careful man.”

In a postscript he adds : —

“I forgot to take notice of your thought of setting Stockadoes ro[u]nd the fort to keep the Enemy at a distance. I don’t well apprehend the benefit of it, for we Intend the fort shall be so built that the Souldiers shall be as safe if the Enemy were in the Parade, as if they were without the fort.”¹

Feb. 7, 1724, the Lieutenant-Governor writes to Colonel Stoddard : —

“I have y^r Letters by Stebbins of the 3^d Instant, & am well pleased with the Orders you have given respecting the Block House & the Dispatch that is likely to be made therein, But untill the Frost be out of y^e Ground, how will you lay y^r Foundation ; And I think there ought to be a good one of Stone & that carried some Heighth above Ground, & also Cellars for the Use & Conveniency of so many People : I now send you Cpt. Dwights Commis^s & also a Commis^s for Elisha Searl to be his Lieu^t I am willing to give y^m as much Countenance by y^r Commiss^s as may be, but they must take the Pay the Assembly shall allow y^m”²

Another letter (Feb. 25, 1724) to Colonel Stoddard, presumably from the acting Governor, though not in his handwriting, and unsigned, says : —

“I am glad the preparations for the Block house goes on so Prosperously the sooner it be Compleated the better for it will not be safe to Leave the Timber &c. unguarded least any of the Lurkeing Enimy should sett it on fire.”³

Again, March 14, 1724, he writes to Colonel Stoddard : —

“I have Yours of the 5th of March and am Glad to hear . . . that the Block house goes forward so Well.”⁴

¹ Mass. Archives, vol. lxxii. pp. 159, 160.

² Ibid., p. 163.

³ Ibid., p. 161.

⁴ Ibid., vol. li. p. 389.

This correspondence indicates that the Government at Boston left the plan of the fort to be worked out according to Colonel Stoddard's "projection," and his "instructions" to Lieutenant Dwight. The work was prosecuted with great energy and efficiency. A large fort arose, nearly square, each side about 180 feet in length, and from 12 to 14 feet high, with houses continuous against the walls, and fronting on an interior open square, and capable of being quickly barricaded in case an enemy should gain entrance. It was built of logs, "locked together at the angles" in the usual way. Colonel Stoddard says: "The soldiers had a very hard service, lying in the woods, & were obliged to work early & late . . . The horses were worked very hard."¹ By April 12 the garrison numbered thirty-eight officers and men, and on April 21 eleven Indians were added. For June 1, the muster-roll shows thirty-nine names, including ten Indians. The full complement seems to have been reached in April, and probably the Block-house was then so far completed as to be occupied. This implies very rapid progress. A further indication is given in the superscription of the next letter on our list: "To Cap^t Timothy Dwight att Fort Dummer." In the first muster-roll it is described, on the back of one sheet, as "the Block-House above Northfield." Now it has a name. The date of the letter is May 22, 1724. Not far from this date, as appears from the following letter, Captain Dwight asked permission to remove his family to the fort, — a further indication that it had become habitable, though still unfinished.

CAP^t DWIGHT.

I send you by this Bearer another Letter wherein all your demands in behalfe of the Mohawks are fully answerd w^{ch} I hope will engage them to be very faithfull & dilligent in their Duty. This is to lett you know that I very well aprove of your bringing your Family to the Blockhouse & you may depend on my Friendship to you as long as you Serve the Government faithfully as I have not the least doubt but you allways will. And as I wrote you in my other Lett the Garrison bee pfectly finished with all proper accomodations for officers & men both your owne people & the Mohawks & with every thing necessary to enable them to make a good defence before you make out your accounts, Lett me know when you Shall Survey that Division of Land & Lett it

¹ History of Northfield, p. 200.

bee exactly described & measured you have now the best opportunity of doing it accurately, I am

Yr

W^m DUMMER

Boston 24th June 1724

On a muster-roll of Captain Dwight's company, preserved at the State House,¹ and which covers enrolments from Jan. 22, 1724, to May 29, fifty-six names are entered, though not all were present at any one time. It is interesting to notice the places from which these recruits were gathered. Springfield furnishes eight; Windsor, six; Northfield and Enfield, each four; Northampton, Suffield, Marlborough, and Framingham, two each; Kinderhook, Sudbury, Stow, Westfield, Lebanon, Simsbury, Stratford, Deerfield, Hatfield, Concord, Rhode Island, Hartford, England, Germany, one each. There are twelve Indian names, — two Maqua Sachems, seven Hudson River Indians, one Scatacook, and two others.

So far as I can ascertain, there is but one other roll of this company on file in the State Archives; namely, from June 1 to Nov. 30, 1725.² The first of the three rolls now produced has no year entered; but an examination of it in comparison with the other rolls that have been mentioned, shows that it belongs to the year 1724, and continues the record to November 30. The two other rolls now presented run from Dec. 1, 1725, to Nov. 30, 1726. There is still a deficiency from Dec. 1, 1724, to May 31, 1725.

In the "History of Northfield," a model local history, the earlier roll at the State House is published, so far as names and residences are concerned.³ To facilitate comparison, I insert here the corresponding facts given in the first of the three rolls now submitted, adding the length of service when the whole period, June 1 to November 30, is not covered. I have marked with an asterisk names common to the two rolls.

A Muster-Roll of the Company in His Majesty's Service under the Command of Timothy Dwight Captain, Viz. Of Fort Dummer.

* Timothy Dwight, Cap^t, N Hamptⁿ

* Elisha Searles, Lieu^t, D^o.

[Blank left here for name of chaplain.]

* John Burks, Serg^t, Hatf^d

¹ Mass. Archives, vol. xci. pp. 109-111.

² Ibid., pp. 236, 237.

³ One name, that of "John Machanny, Winsor," should be added to the list as printed in this "History," p. 201; "Thomas Woolest" is in the manuscript

- * Robert Cooper, Serg^t, Northf^d
- * Caleb Chapin, Cler., Springf^d
- * John Mackranny, Corp^l, Spf^d
- * John Thrall, Corp^l, Winsor.
- * Will^m Syms, Serv^t to Thos. French.
- * John Bement, Westf^d
- * Antho. Wiersbury,¹ —
- * James Hayes, Stow
- * Christoph^r Sitton, Enf^d
- * John Ellis, Narrowgans^t.
- * Joseph Allyn,² Suffield.
- * Jonathⁿ Janes, N.field.
- * Jacob Wheeler, Kend^hhook
- * Mitchel Fokt, Symsbury
- * John Pease, Enf^d
- * Jonathⁿ Pease, Enf^d
- * Joseph Gillit, Enf^d
- * Pellet^h Jones, Springf^d.
- * Robert Carter, D^o.
- * Abrah^m Burnet, D^o.
- * John Frost, D^o.
- * Sam^l Burr, Hartf^d.
- * Nath^l Mattun, Northf^d.
- Dan^l Severance, —
- * John Brooks, — July 7, Deserted.
- * Stephen Winchel, Winsor, To Aug. 31.
- Thomas Moses, D^o. Sep^r 1 to Nov^r 30.
- * Thomas Woolcot, D^o. To June 16.
- * David Clarke, D^o. Disjoynd his arm Ap^l 28 (wrestling)
 & went to Connecticot & never returnd to y^e Service.
- John Willcot, Brookf^d, Sept^r 6 to Nov^r 30.
- * Hendrick,³ —, June 1 to Sep^r 3.
- * Ezerus,³ D^o. 1 to Do. 3.
- * Ampaumet,³ D^o. 1 to July 29.

"Thomas Wolcott"; "Sergt. John Mackranney" is "John Mackranny, Corp^l"; "John Crawford," "John Crowfoot"; "Hunnibus," "Hannibus"; "Michael," "Mitchel"; "Wedge," "Wages." Some of these and other changes are doubtless intentional corrections of the spelling. For the purpose of these records, it seems best to reproduce the manuscript spelling.

¹ In a later roll he is entered from Germany, and designated "Drummer." See account of his narrow escape from Indians when scouting, in "History of Northfield," p. 213.

² I have assumed that he and Joseph Allen are the same person.

³ Hendrick and Ezerus were Maqua Sachems. Ampaumet was a Sachem of the Hudson River Indians.

Unkamugg,	D°	1	to D°	29.
* Poopoonuck	D°	1	"	Oct. 19.
* Kewahcum	D°	1	"	July 14.
* Pomangun	D°	1	"	Aug ^t 10.
* Wannoowoozet	D°	1	"	July 29
* Tawkaquint,	D°	1	"	D° 29
* Nuhnuhwaunet	D°	1	"	D° 29
Wawwankhawneck,	June	2	"	July 29.
Towahass	June	5	"	July 29.
Nockshuwot	June	8	"	July 29.
Toggorrehoon	"	16	"	Sep ^r 3.
Jendonisk	June	23	"	Sep ^r 3.
Sotohcowannah	June	23	"	Sep ^r 3.
Tawwahtanneah,	June	26	"	Sep ^r 3.
Cosaump,	July	31	"	Nov ^r . 14.

The large number of Indian names on the early rolls, especially the second, is noteworthy. It appears from correspondence of the time, which has been preserved, that strenuous efforts were put forth to secure recruits from the Mohawks and other Western Indians. The chief reason for this policy is so clearly set forth in a letter to the Lieutenant-Governor from Colonel Stoddard, Feb. 3, 1724, that I transcribe what is relevant to this matter.

"There being no prospect of an Opportunity within a Considerable time, Col^l Partridge & myself thought it advisable to Express to you our letters from Albany. I perceive that Col^l Schuyler is Worried by the Indians and Embarrassed by the Dutch so that he is almost dispirited. he hath al along Insisted on it that some Body should be sent to Albany to act with him in the affairs of this Government, the Indians by degrees grow cool, and are dayly dissuaded by the Dutch from undertaking anything for our advantage, and unles they be often solicited, there is hazard that we may in great measure loose the expence we have been at upon them. I somewhat doubt of the sufficiency of the Care that Col^l Schuyler hath taken to encourage the Indians to Enlist in the Service at the Block House. I did not know but that the Government would send to Albany as Col^l Schyler desires, otherwise I should have sent a man to have engaged the twenty Indians, who should have seen them out of the reach and Influence of the Dutch, we suppose if that number should come over hither, it would be the most likely method, for our safety, and so engage the Nations in the War. for if they should once tast the sweet of our pay, the Gent^{mn} of Albany cannot draw them from us, many of those Nations will visit them at the Block

House, the Enemy will greatly fear them, will conclude that in case they kill any of the Maqua^a the Nations will forthwith revenge it.”¹

To this letter the Lieutenant-Governor replied, February 7, as follows : —

“I am sensible it would be no hard Matter to procure a Number of the Mohawks for the Service of the Province were not our Affairs so embarrass’d & the Governm^t so weaken’d by the Divisions of late in y^e Gen^l Court, & the Contests respecting the Emission of Money, that we seem to have no strength left to Serve our Countrey upon any proper Occasion. However, thinking it to be very necessary to the Interest of the Province at this Juncture, I have for once spoke to the Treas^r to send you by Stebbins £50. extraordinary which I propose to be committed to Cpt. Kellog, & that he be sent away with it to Albany, & Advising with Coll Schuyler he sh^d go among the Nations & advance to such as will come away with him 4s/ a Peice for their Encouragem^t. But whereas there is no Law now subsisting that grants a Premium for Soldiers to enlist, If you think it will bear, Kellog may intimate to them, that it is by Way of Adv^{ce} for their Wages that shall become due, Otherwise he must give it to y^m as a Bounty: Coll Schuyler must be desired likewise to do for them what is proper, Agreeable to his Instructions. I leave the Whole of this Matter to you to manage according to your best Discretion, & as you shall judge for the Service of the Province, & w^{ch} I shall always endeavour to promote let the Consequence be as it will.”²

More than a month later, March 14, the Governor shows his sense of the importance of Kellogg’s mission in these words :

“If Kellog Succeeds in his Negotiations, I think you’ll have little to fear on your frontiers.”³

Captain Kellogg was one of the most competent negotiators with the Indians of his day, but he seems to have accomplished little by this mission to Albany. Under date of March 27, 1724, Colonel Stoddard writes : —

“Capt. Kellogg is returned, . . . he tells me he expected four or five Scautacock Indians to have been at Deerf^{ld} some days since, which I hear nothing of, and am prone to think that the Dutch have dissuaded them, it seems probable that the Western Indians will not answer our expectation (at present) in assisting at the Block House and inasmuch as our dependance is greatly on the scout to be sent from thence,

¹ Mass. Archives, vol. lxxii. p. 157.

² Ibid., p. 161.

³ Ibid., vol. li. p. 389.

which cannot be well managed without the number of men allowed, it seems necessary that the Compliment be made of English for the Present, and in Case the Indians doe not within a little time Joyn us, undoubtedly it will be best that a number of good dogs be provided.”¹

Greater promise seemed to be held forth in a letter from Colonel Schuyler to Colonel Stoddard, April 10, 1724. He writes from Albany:—

“If Hendrick meets With any River or Scagtecoke Indians In his way he will as he Promised me, take so many Indians with him as he Can.”²

April 21, the names of eleven Indians, including Hendrick's, are entered as beginning to draw pay at the fort.

Yet the scheme was unsuccessful. The second muster-roll, indeed, shows an increase in the number of enlisted Indians, but also their short period of service. Poopoonuck and Co-saump are all that remain after early in September. October 12, Colonel Stoddard writes to the Lieutenant-Governor:—

“There are now no Indians at the Block-house save two Mohekon or River Indians, all the Maquas went to Albany at the last Treaty. Since my coming from thence I hear nothing about their young men.”³

In the “History of Northfield” it is stated (p. 200): “The truth afterwards came out, viz., that early in 1723 Governor Vaudreuil had sent a belt of friendship to the Maquas, which they had accepted.”

In the same letter to Colonel Stoddard from which I have just quoted, Colonel Schuyler refers to a projected conference with the Indians at Albany, and asks, conditionally, to have “Hendrick & some old Scagtecoke Indians sent” to participate in it. The next letter on our list refers to this visit, and also introduces another topic which deserves to be followed a little further. The letter reads as follows:—

Nth HAMPTON, May 22^d, 1724

S^r,—The Lieut^{nt} Gov^r writes to me in the words following, Cap^t Dwight must let the Mohawks have as much Victuals as they please, their Bellies must by no means be pinched, and he need not to doubt the allowance of his accompts, the Powder and Ball he writes for and also

¹ Mass. Archives, vol. li. p. 390. April 20, 1724, Colonel Partridge writes: “4 or 5 of the Scattecook Indians are come in at Deerfield and are gone to see the Fort.” (Ibid. p. 402.)

² Ibid., vol. li. p. 397.

³ Ibid., vol. lii. p. 64.

the shoes, I have ordered the Treasurer to send him, and he must make the Indians easy also as to that matter and every reasonable thing, I have spoken to the Council about a Minister for the Block house, they all think it very reasonable but encline not to advise in it untill the Court meets, when it will I hope be granted, it will be best to let them settle an allowance first.¹

I conclude Hendrick and Ompamet [Ampaumet, a Hudson River Sachem] are gone toward Albany to the Treaty, for we're informed² that Cap^t Wells sent thither on Wednesday night to advise that the French Indians were on the Rhoad to Albany.

I doubt not but you will take all Imaginable care to prevent the Souldiers making the Indians uneasie. it will be a satisfaction to hear now and then where your Scouts make their marches. Maccranny can tell you what we hear of a man being taken at Bantham (?)

Your servant

J^{NO} STODDARD.

I will cite a few other allusions to the subject of a chaplaincy at the fort.

In his letter to the Lieutenant-Governor, February 3, Colonel Stoddard says:—

“M^r Dwight thinks they shall live a heathenish life unless a Chaplin be allowed, and besides the advantage the English Souldiers may receive from him, it may possibly be an opportunity to Christianize the Indians, which the Assembly (in the Summer past) seemed very desirous of. I suppose a Chaplin may be obtained in this county.”

To this Governor Dummer replied:—

“I think as you do, that it would be very convenient for Dwight to have a Chaplain at the Block House & more especially with Respect to the Mohawks, but there is no Allow^{ce} in the Vote for one; However if you have a proper Person in y^r Parts that is willing to try when the Mohawks come down, what Service they can do among them I shall willingly recommend him to the Court for a Consideration thereof, and perhaps an Establishm^t may be obtained for the Future.”³

May 30, 1724, the House of Representatives voted,—

“That there be a Suitable Person Provided & Employed as Chaplain to the Garrison above *Northfield*, & more especially that he Instruct the Indian Natives residing thereabouts, in the True Christian Religion, & that there be Allowed & Paid out of the public Treasury to the said

¹ See Colonel Schuyler's letter, May 28, 1724, in Mass. Archives, vol. li. p. 420.

² The letter of the Lieutenant-Governor from which this extract is made, may be found in Mass. Archives, vol. li. pp. 418, 419.

³ Ibid., vol. lxxii. p. 161.

Person the Sum of *One Hundred Pounds* for the Year Ensuing, to begin from his Entrance into said Service; & that the Reverend Mr. *Mather*, Mr. *Wadsworth*, Mr. *Colman* and Mr. *Sewall* be desired to procure such a Person of Gravity, Prudence, & Ability to be Employ'd as aforesaid."¹

In pursuance of this vote, Rev. Daniel Dwight, a younger brother of the Captain, was appointed Chaplain. His salary was larger than the Captain's.

The next letter brings us near the close of the war, and of Captain Dwight's command at Fort Dummer.

*For his Maj^{ty}s especial Service To Cpt. Timothy Dwight
At Fort Dummer*

SIR, — Having Concluded a Peace with the Indian Delegates in behalf of the Western as well as the Eastern Tribes that have been engaged in y^e late War,

You are hereby Order'd forthwith to Reduce the Garrison at Fort Dummer to a Corporal & fifteen Centinels besides yourself (who are to have Sergeants Pay henceforward) You must in Dismissing the Supernumerary Men, You must act without the least Partiality, Having a Regard for the Length of Time they have been in the Service, & their Volunt [?] or press'd (not hired) Men.

Y^r Serv^t

W^m DUMMER

BOSTON Dec. 28. 1725.

The claim in this letter that the treaty of Dec. 15, 1725, — for such seems to be the reference, — included the Western Indians, is noticeable. The treaty itself is signed, for the Indians, by only four Eastern sagamores. The writers of the "History of Northfield" say, referring to the treaty as first signed, and as ratified at Falmouth, August 5, 1726: "This did not necessarily bind the western Indians. Gray Lock refused to join in it."² Mr. Winsor, including in his review still later conventions, remarks: "The letters of caution which Belcher was constantly writing (1731–1740) to Captain Larrabee, in command at Fort George, Brunswick, indicate how unstable the peace was."³ The following letter is in point as respects the *Western* frontier, and shows the same solicitude on the part of Lieutenant-Governor Dummer, at

¹ Printed Journal of the Honorable House of Representatives, p. 10.

² Op. cit., p. 214.

³ Narrative and Critical History of America, vol. v. p. 432.

the time of its date. There is no address, but it was doubtless written to Captain Dwight:—

NTH HAMPTON March 26 1726

S^R.— His Hon^r directs me to advise you to be well on your guard, you will therefore Employ the few men you have to secure your-Selves, and (if you can) in discrying an Enemy, in Case the French shall be able to continue the Indians to be such, as doubtles they will endeavour, it is not very long to the time of the Convention at Casco-Bay, when we shall be better Satisfied of the disposition of the Indians with respect to Peace. & in the mean time we ought to endeavour that they may not gain any advantage against us in case they should seek it,

I am your Servant

JOHN STODDARD.

The conference at Casco Bay (Falmouth) was held in August, and resulted in a ratification of the treaty signed at Boston the preceding December. A third treaty was made at Casco Bay, July 25, 1727.

The last of the documents in the list which has been given, is not unrelated to the military history I have been following, nor to the anxieties which continued after the close of the war. It is easy to perceive, in Colonel Stoddard's impressive injunctions upon the Indians present of the heinousness of taking life in a time of peace, and indeed in the whole character and tone of the interview, that the immediate subjects of inquiry were regarded as of serious and wide-reaching public importance. This is evident at once as respects one branch of the investigation, — the recent murder by the Indians of an Englishman. The following letter shows that the other subject of inquiry — the persons from whom the Indians had been procuring large quantities of rum — was also closely connected with the ultimate question of peace or war:—

HATF^D June 19 1727

HONOURABLE S^R, — I thought it Meete to inform yo^r Hono^r that Considerable Numb^{rs} of Indians from their Hunting Come in at Deerf^d & Northfield Fort the English trade with them & it [is] s^d some of o^r men goe out & carry them Strong Liquo^r & make the Indians Drunk & get their furs for a small matter so that when they get Out of their Drink & see that their Furs are gone they are mad & care not what Mischief they do a Ready way to bring on Outrages & Murders if not the Warr againe . . .

SAM^{LL} PARTRIDGE

In the Records of the Council I have found two entries relevant to the document now submitted. The first is under the date May 19, 1728:—

“His Honor the Lieu^t Governour communicated to the Board several Letters he had received from Coll. John Stoddard referring to the Killing one Wolcott on Connecticutt River.”¹

Again, Feb. 13, 1728 [1729]:—

“An Accompt presented by J^{no} Stoddard Esq^r of the times & expence of himself & other officers in an Intervvew with the Western Indians to endeavour to engage them to deliver up the Indians that murdered Wolcott above Northfield together with the Presents made the Indians first mentioned amounting in y^e whole to the sum of Forty-three Pounds seventeen shill^s & sixpence.”²

The account was allowed, and payment ordered. No report of the conference has been found in the State Archives. The paper herewith submitted is interesting, not only from the point of view already indicated, but as an illustration of Indian traits of mind and character, and from the standing of the English commissioners.

Colonel Stoddard, who conducted the conference, was “one of that great trio which had John Pynchon of Springfield for its first member, and Col. Samuel Partridge of Hatfield for its second, and which ruled or led Western Massachusetts through an entire century of its history.” He was the son of Rev. Solomon Stoddard, and grandson of Anthony Stoddard, who was “for twenty years a representative of Boston in the General Council.” Colonel Stoddard was one of the Governor’s Council.³ President Edwards, his nephew, pays the highest tribute to his intelligence and worth, and says—which is especially relevant to our purpose—that “he had a far greater knowledge than any other person in the land of the several nations of Indians in these northern portions of America, their tempers, manners, and the proper way of treating them; and was more extensively known to them than any other person in the country.”

Captain, afterward Colonel, Dwight was more than thirteen

¹ Council Records, 1727-1735, pp. 38, 39.

² Ibid., pp. 117, 118.

³ History of the Dwight Family, vol. ii. p. 1034.

years younger than Colonel Stoddard, but, in 1728, had already filled important public positions, civil and military. He was sent for a number of years to the General Court from Northampton, was Judge of Probate and of the County Court for Hampshire, which then included Berkshire, and was widely known and esteemed. Colonel Partridge was his maternal grandfather. On the paternal side his grandparents were Timothy Dwight and Anna Flint, daughter of Rev. Henry Flint and Margery Hoar, sister of President Hoar; and his own grandson, through a son born to him while in command of Fort Dummer and within its walls, was the first President Dwight of Yale College.

The third member of the commission, Captain Pomeroy, is Hon. Ebenezer Pomeroy, of Northampton, a son of Medad Pomeroy of honorable fame, and himself already in such repute as to have been a member of conferences respecting Indian affairs. Mr. W. K. Wright informs me that he "was a man much respected and trusted by his fellow-townsmen, was often employed in the settlement of estates, was chosen Town Treasurer in 1726-7, was appointed Clerk of the Courts in 1729, Sheriff in 1733, and Justice in 1735." Evidently the commission was made up of men of prominence and great influence, — a fact which accords with the suggestion already made that this conference was understood to have bearings quite beyond the importance of its immediate issues.

The "Scahtacooks," or Scatacooks, — I have noticed more than forty different ways of spelling the word, — received their name from the place allotted to them in the seventeenth century, at the junction of what is now called the Hoosic River with the Hudson, twenty-one miles above Albany. The name, I am informed by Hon. J. Hammond Trumbull, LL. D., "was applicable to any branching of a stream, or the junction of a branch with the main stream."¹ On Dr. Douglass's Map the present Hoosic River has two branches marked, — one named "Hoosic," the other "Scatacook;" and the latter seems to be printed so as to imply that the Hoosic flowed into it. However this may be, the name in the early authorities clearly applies to the junction with the Hudson, where is now the

¹ See, also, Dr. Trumbull's "Indian Names of Places in Connecticut," p. 66: "Scatacook."

town of Schaghticoke. Here, about 1675 or 1676, as the Scatacooks themselves testified, within the lifetime of the first generation, Sir Edmund Andros, then Governor of New York, "planted a Tree of Welfare," — a tree which by 1702 had "grown so thick of leaves & Bows that y sun can scarce shine through it." They were at first refugees from New England.¹ Probably they received accessions from various

¹ Dr. Schoolcraft (*Archives of Aboriginal Knowledge*, vol. vi. pp. 123, 124, 200) says that these fugitives were Pequots who escaped to the Mohawks with Sassacus, after his crushing defeat by Captain Mason (1637), or who soon followed. They "were assigned the position of Schaghticoke, whence they eventually fled to Misisqui Bay, near the foot of Lake Champlain, in Lower Canada." I presume there is some authority for this statement which has escaped me. I have not, however, ventured in the text beyond the testimonies which I have been able to find and verify, and which connect with the Scatacooks of the Conference of 1728. Sassacus and his companions were at once killed by the Mohawks, with one exception (Trumbull's *History of Connecticut*, vol. i. p. 92). In the following accounts there is no allusion to any of the "seventy" Pequot braves who broke through Captain Mason's lines in the "great swamp" fight; and the assignment to Scaticook is dated more than a generation later.

Paul Dudley, Esq., learned at Albany, when he was there on Indian affairs in 1721, that the Scatacooks were dependent on the Mohawks, and that "most of them were fugitives from New England in the time of Philip's War" (*Mass. Hist. Soc. Coll.*, vol. xviii. p. 244). In 1714 the "Mahikanders [Mohicans] and Scackkook Indians, commonly called the River Indians," said to Governor Hunter at Albany: "We must acquaint our Father that S^r Edmond Andros . . . planted a tree of welfare at Scachhook" (*Doc. Col. Hist. of New York*, vol. v. pp. 387, 388). In July, 1702, the River Indians testified: "About twenty-six years ago, S^r Edmund Andros, then Governor of this Province, planted a Tree of Welfare at Skachkook" (*Ibid.*, vol. iv. p. 991). July 18, 1701, they give the same number of years — namely, twenty-six — to Lieutenant-Governor Nanfan (*Ibid.*, vol. iv. p. 902). And again, August 31, 1700, at a conference with the Earl of Bellomont, they say: "It is now six and twenty years ago since wee were almost dead when wee left New England and were first received into this government; then it was that a Tree was planted at Schackkook," etc. (*Ibid.*, vol. iv. pp. 744, 745). The same year, in October, the Earl of Bellomont wrote home: "Our Schackhook or River Indians were of those Eastern Indians, but were driven from that country by the people of New England 26 years ago, in the war call'd King Philip's war. Those Eastern Indians and our river Indians still retain their friendship and intermarry with each other" (*Ibid.*, vol. iv. p. 715). Still earlier, Sept. 29, 1688, the magistrates of Schenectady, referring to "Schachkooke," speak of "Indians there who fled from New England in y^e war-time" (*Ibid.*, vol. iii. p. 565). They cannot well be understood here as referring to the Pequot War.

Another date appears in Colden's "History of the Five Nations," published in 1747; and this is followed by the editor of the "Colonial History of New York," John Romeyn Brodhead, Esq., who says: "The Scaghticoke Indians originally belonged to the Eastern tribes, or those of New Hampshire and Maine. They left their country about the year 1672, and settled above Albany, on a branch of Hudson's River." This merely follows or interprets Colden, who is cited, and

tribes.¹ In 1723, with the Six Nations and the Mohegans, they sent delegates to Boston, where they doubtless shared in the sports, shows, and feasts of which Judge Penhallow gives an entertaining account in the "History of the Wars of New England with the Eastern Indians." They professed friendliness to the English; and much effort was expended upon them, as upon the Mohicans and Iroquois, by the governments of Massachusetts and New York, to keep them from connection with the French Indians and to make them serviceable. Their dependent position and perhaps their peculiar history kept them from hostility, though Gray Lock may have allured some of their number to join his bands, and some certainly were drawn away or migrated to Canada. In 1754 Lieutenant-Governor De Lancey writes that, August 28, French Indians "carried off with them the few remaining Indians of Scachtacook, being between fifty & sixty in Number, men, women, & children."² The month before they had said to the Lieutenant-Governor and the Congress at Albany: "We are small in number, but next time we hope we shall be more. Your Honor may see that we are

who is more specific, mentioning the names of the Eastern tribes, namely, the "Owenagungas, Ouragies, and Penacoks." He also introduces the matter with the words, "The people of New England were engaged in a bloody war at this time with the" Indians just named. The date 1672 cannot be trusted as exact, except as it is limited to the time when certain Indians "left their country." The account really confirms, so far as so late a testimony has any weight, the date which we have derived from the earlier testimonies.

¹ In 1699 Peter Schuyler and Robert Livingstone state that the Maquas and other Indians, including the Eastern, will induce their three nations to come and live at Schackkook (Doc. Col. Hist. of New York, vol. iv. p. 597). The Earl of Bellomont, in 1701, states to the London Board of Trade his design to invite the Onagongues or Eastern Indians to Schackhook and ally them to the Five Nations (Ibid., vol. iv. p. 834). Previously he had urged the Scatacooks to "invite their [your] friends the Pennekoke & Eastern Indians to come & settle with them [you] there," that is, at "Schackkook" (Ibid., vol. iv. p. 745). So Lieutenant-Governor Nanfan, 1701 (Ibid., vol. iv. p. 902). "Near this date [1663] the River Indians [that is, Connecticut River Indians] appear to have separated into two parties, one of which went to the westward, and the other to the northward. Those that went west were mainly Pacomptocks, and became eventually connected with the Scagkooks" (History of Northfield, p. 56).

The Scatacooks and Mohicans are sometimes called together "River Indians" (Doc. Col. Hist. of New York, vol. v. p. 387); that is, Hudson River Indians. At other times they are distinguished, and the term "River Indians" restricted to the Mohicans, or Mahikanders (Ibid., vol. v. pp. 266, 267; Mass. Hist. Soc. Coll., vol. xxv. pp. 55-57, 62).

² Doc. Col. Hist. of New York, vol. vi. p. 909.

but young and inexperienced, our ancient people being almost all dead.”¹

The Wolcott of our document is John Wolcott, of Brookfield, whose name appears in the muster-roll of Captain Dwight's Company at Fort Dummer, Sept. 6, 1724, and in the other rolls of 1725 and 1726. When about twelve or fourteen years of age he was captured by the Indians at Brookfield, “when riding in search of the cows.” His horse was killed under him. He lived with the Indians in Canada some six or seven years. “In March, 1728, in a time of peace,” — I quote from a discourse preached by the Rev. Dr. Fiske, Dec. 31, 1775, — “he and another man having been hunting, and coming down Connecticut River with a freight of skins and fur, they were hailed by some Indians; but not being willing to go to them, they steered for another shore. The Indians landed at a little distance from them; several shots were exchanged, at length Woolcot was killed.”² It becomes me, in concluding these annotations, to express my obligations to Hon. J. Hammond Trumbull, of Hartford; Hon. George Sheldon, of Deerfield; Mr. W. K. Wright, of Northampton; Rev. E. C. Ingalls, of Brookfield; Rev. C. C. Carpenter, of Andover; and Mr. James J. Tracy, in the Office of the Secretary of State, for helpful answers to my inquiries.

At a Conference wth the Scahtacooks May [June?] 6th 1728.

Coⁿ Stodd^d Cap^t Dwight Esq^r & Cap^t Pomroy, on y^e Part of y^e English

Coⁿ Stodd^d Enquired where they Got y^r vast Quantities of Liquor told them y^e Ill Consequences of it y^t it tended to Impoverish 'em & to breed disturbances between y^m and y^e English & also among y^mselves & y^t one of y^r men wⁿ drunk had murder^d another Lately wth he was sorry for

¹ Mass. Hist. Coll., vol. xxv. p. 56. In Barber's Conn. Hist. Coll., pp. 471, 472, there is an interesting account of the Scatacooks in Kent, Connecticut. Their leader, Mauwehu, is said to have been a Pequot, and to have come from Dover, New York, to Scatacook, on the Housatonic, in 1728, ten years before the whites. He gathered a large band. In 1742 a Moravian mission was established among them, which for a time had great success. See De Forest's History of the Indians of Connecticut, pp. 407 *sqq.*; Trumbull's History of Connecticut, vol. ii. pp. 84 *sqq.*

² Mass. Hist. Coll., vol. i. pp. 263, 264. Persons now living in Brookfield remember hearing accounts of this murder. The farm is still spoken of as the “Woolcot Place.”

Weenbuck Answ^d yy should All be togeth^r to-morrow and would yⁿ Answ^r Co^l told them yy need not be altogeth^r for that any young man might Answ^r that Questⁿ

They then s^d we knew y^r was Quantities come from Albany many times, Co^l s^d he did not want to know who Supplied y^m at Albany but who did it here & yy knew well Enough who it was, & yy did not act as friends to themselves, nor us, unless yy told, aft^r a Considerable pause yy Inform'd y^t yy all know yt John Bement brought a great Long wooden bottle of Rhum Cross y^e river to em In a Canoo about Ten days past, about a Gallon of Rhum Bem^t Demand^d 3 beaver Skins for it y^e Indⁿs offerd 2: y^e young Indian took y^e Rhum & left but one beav^r yⁿ Bem^t was mad & broke one of y^e Canoos yy furth^r Informd y^t Bement Supplied them divers times last Winter & in the Spring & also last week once

Co^l by Ens Hinsdale enqrd wheth^r Ens Field or his wife or children had Eith^r of em at any time supplied any Quantities of Liq^r yy Answ^d he had sometimes Given 'em a dram but none of 'em had supplied 'em wth Quantites

Co^l by Hinsdale yⁿ Enqrd wheth^r Stev^r Belden or his wife had supplied y^m wth Quantities of Liqu^r at any time One Answ^d he had given 'em some times at tradeing drams but had not Sold 'em Quantities Wapalaw^t answ^d in y^c Same mann^r

Co^l by Ens Field then Enqrd wheth^r Hall had not Supplied 'em sometimes wheth^r Bement was the Only man y^t did it when Field & Belden had Hogsheads of Rhum by 'em & y^e Indⁿs had been drunk 20 dayes

Furth^rmore y^t men had Gone from Northfield down to y^e Low towns to fetch quantities of Rhum y^t were not Able to keep it by 'em Auwelah's Inform'd y^t Asahel Stebbens 3 dayes past let him have 5 Quarts of Rhum for a great Beaver & A moose skin

Sam Indⁿ Inform'd y^t Asahell Stebbens Some time Since Sold him Eight Quarts of Rhum for 4 Martins & one Beaver Then the Co^l told them y^t yy might draw off for y^t night & he Expected yy Should bring Massequant wth 'em to-morrow & proceed further.

June 7th AMⁿ Massequant wth about twenty others viz Wapalawit Cockonshawit & Weenbuck Chiefs Pasix Cohoss & Historian Wampshaws & Oth^rs viz Cunkaroorut & Womantaning Present.

Cokonshawit In the Last warr yy & we were one flesh & in token of it yy gave Belden a Belt which he promis'd to Carry to the Gov^r but he had not done it & y^rfore now they brought it for y^e Sam Ends The Co^l sup[posed] that it would be well accept^d by y^e Gov^r & as Soon as an Opportunity presented he would Send it & y^r Speech wth it The Co^l Began

y^t Some time Since y^r was A war which began first between y^e Nor-

rungwacks & English & other tribes were Cal'd to: y^r assistance but Since y^t All y^e Ind^{ns} Concern'd had Committed y^e Care of y^e Peace to the Penobscuts who were y^e Cheif nation in that Country & y^r was 2 men sent by y^e Penobscut Indians to Boston to See w^t y^e Gov^{mt} would Say to em & aft^rwards most of the Penobscots then Signd & Seald y^e Peace & y^e Ind^{ns} had one Pap^r Containing ye Articles & the English anoth^r & Abo^t A year agone y^e Woweenocks Arrepeguntacooks Came viz some hund^d & heard y^e Articles of Peace read & were well pleas'd wth them & All Confirm'd it¹ Shaawmit was Speak^r at the same time yy Last year Agreed on one New Article which was y^t if any Ind^{ns} ² . . . were to Joyn [?] ye English as one people to reduce those Ind . . . y^e English . . . it was supposed we were at peace wth all the world & when we tho^t our Selves thus at peace wth Every body About 2 months Since we had 2 men up the river & coming down the river yy met A canoo wth 3: Ind^{ns} one ran away the oth^r two aft^r a Skirmish kill'd one of our men & we heard nothing Since till Cap^t Kellogg return'd & Naspunkat & another Shamblee Inform'd y^t A man was of y^e English kill'd Aft^rw^ds on y^e Lake yy See Some Ind^{ns} y^t Came from Massixcoick who told y^e Story as it was told by y^e man Present wth woolcott when kill'd, & Skuyler at Sarratoag told Cap^t Kellogg y^t it was Nelats & Chachanump y^t kill'd woolcot the Co^{ll} yⁿ told [y^m] yy had been About y^e woods & Desir'd yy would tell him w^t yy had heard About the Story of woolcots being kill'd Some of em . . . had heard from Albany no doubt but by those Opportunities yy had heard Some things. Massequant heard nothing till he came to Penacook he saw many Eastern Ind^{ns} but yy told him nothing of it he heard first by Wisbeek $\frac{1}{2}$ way between Merimacke & Connecticut riv^{rs} Co^{ll} furth^r s^d y^t yy must needs be sensible y^t y^e killing of y^e man was a thing of Ill consequence In A time of Peace when men think themselves Secure all of A sudden to be kill'd is worse yⁿ warr if Such things are allow'd it will be a dammage to them we Esteem 'em our friends & this is y^r hunting Country but if People from y^t way Come & kill our men it must be so no longer. y^e french will also Suggest y^t it was y^e Scahtacooks y^t did the Mischief & Since it is A matter Concerning both we had need Con- trive togeth^r what methods are most likely to prevent such things for the future The Co^{ll} Put it to 'em to Say what yy tho^t most likely to Prevent it for the future The Co^{ll} further Suggest^d that for 2: or: 3: fellows to give disturbance to the whole nation of English & Indians was very Unreasonable; Cockon Shawit Spoke as follows

¹ On the margin is written: "About 3 year Since y^r was 3 men Sent by y^e Gov^{mt} to treat wth y^e Penobscuts & yy Sent 4 men to Boston & yy Made A Peace."

² I have used signs of omission when there are breaks in the manuscript.

(Viz) A Year or two ago yy mad Peace & wip'd away all Tears & yy are Sorry for what has happend & yy desire All blood may be wiped Away & in Token of it yy present two Beaver. They had something then bestowd upon em to Eat & Concluded to Come Again in the Aft'noon & Proceed further Aft'noon yy Came to Treat farther

The Co^{ll} Told them y^t althō as yy Observ'd y^r had been peace Some time Yet y^r was now blood Shed Yet that Should be no Interruption to our Treating with them but yy Should Speak as freely as if y^e man had not been kill'd & then A Blanket was laid down to Them

Then the Co^{ll} Observ'd to 'em y^t it was as had been hinted A great Dammage to them & great Injustice to us & y^t it was worse yⁿ warr when people thōt themselves Safe to be murdered on A Sudden & that Such Murderers should be undoubtedly punishd y^t yy are punish'd wⁿ it is only A private Offence much more reasonable when of A Publick nat^r & Affect^d whole nations & althō we are pretty well Satisfied who one of y^e murderers was yet we know not y^e [Region of country?] yy must Certainly know & furth^r y^t its likely that it was done by Such as did formerly belong to them & y^t y^r was more reason yy Should be concernd wth us to See Justice done, & y^t y^e Gov^r has Orderd the Co^{ll} to Speak to them About it & to urge them to See y^t Justice be done to us & themselves & upon y^e D^d [^{deed}_{deceased}] A Belt of Wampum & y^r love & friendship would appear in that to the English

Then The Indi^{ns} Answ^d by Cockonshawit that they See y^t we are all broth^rs one flesh & one bone they are Sorry as well as we & yy are weary of Such things & in token of Confirmⁿ present^d Some Beav^r they furth^r Say that yy are but few & but Small yy are right at heart but not Able to do mucⁿ as for bringing Nelats yy were not Able but yy Should hear & yy are A letter [?] themselves & yy would Inform as Soon as yy heard where he was & they laid down some Beav^r yⁿ had done Said All yy had to Say Then yy went to a Dinn^r of y^e Gov^rmts Provideing & return'd aft^r Dinn^r

The Co^{ll} told them y^t he had heard y^r Answ^r to the Gov^rs proposal but did not Suppose y^t it would at all Satisfie him & that it Cant be any Advantage to be Inform'd that y^e murderer is at a Great Dist neith^r is it y^e way wⁿ yy meet wth difficulties among themselves to Say y^t yy are A Small people & content y^mselves wth that & take no remedy & y^t if yy think it best to take it into Consideration again yy may Otherwise y^e Co^{ll} Can do nothing more but Inform y^e Gov^r what yy Say & See w^t measures he will take in y^e Case The Coll told em if y^e Gov^r had thōt it unreasonable he would not have made the proposal to em but Since it was thōt for y^e mutual Good of Each nation twas probable yy would Comply with it

The Ind^{rs} By Cockonshawit Answ^d that they were very willing to have 2 months Time to Consider of it & in the mean time yy would not have us Afraid by that time they Should be better able to Inform us Then y^e Co^{ll} Enqrd where we Should Speak wth em two months hence They Answ^d at Northampton The Co^{ll} Object^d y^t yy would by that time be all dispers'd but now yy were all togeth^r & that they would not have a better Opportunity this [?] year yⁿ now & whether yy would Comply with the Gov^r's proposal or not If not it could be Sufficiently Considrd this night & Answ^d in y^e morning

they Answ^d yy would Consider of it this night & return Early in y^e Morning & make Answ^r —

June 8 They Came & by Cockonshawit They Said y^t Yesterday they Presented themselves before Us & God In Heavⁿ See y^t yy were All of one heart with us & as a manifestation of it yy Appeard Again & Presented some Beav^r

Then the Co^{ll} desired one of them might Go aside with our Interpret^r & more perticularly Explain what they had Said y^t is whether yy intended y^t yy would Comply with what y^e Gov^r proposed or whether they only meant y^t yy were our friends, They S^d y^t it was A matter of Doubt [wth em Wheth^r] to Comply wth y^e Gov^{rs} Proposal or not. & for the Present yy Intended nothing but to Express y^r friendsh by w^t yy Said — They furth^r S^d aft^r a pause that yy had all heard w^t y^e Co^{ll} S^d & that yy was as we was & In Any measures y^t we would take in the Case yy would Joyn wth us.¹ Cockonshawit furth^r Said That yy would Send 2 men to Albany & to Canada & See where Nelats is & Send us word & as A Confirmation of what yy have S^d before & now yy laid down Some Beav^r In the Room of Some wampum — The Co^{ll} told em if yy should Enqu^r & know where he was by y^e time we were Inform'd he would be as farr Another way & y^t we Cant See what Advantage yy proposed by it — & yⁿ yy were Inform'd y^t y^e Co^{ll} would Inform the Gov^r what had pas'd between us & y^e most y^t would be noted by the English was y^t yy were ready to Joyn with us In any measures to Punish the Criminal — & then they Gave 3 Shouts & So Ended the Matter wth Giving a dram & y^e danceing of the young men.

Dr. SAMUEL A. GREEN made the following remarks : —

At the March meeting, three years ago, Dr. Everett called the attention of the Society to certain Latin verses, printed in Sewall's Diary, which required some metrical changes, and he suggested that the word *Idolum* was intended for the mean-

¹ "I am Jealous of this," is written in the margin.

ingless *Iddum*.¹ An inspection of the original text shows plainly that he is correct. The letters "o" and "l" were written near together; and the copyist read them as one character, and called it a "d." Dr. Everett's suggestions in regard to the hexameter line² and the couplet³ are borne out by the manuscript. His proposed reading of the epigram on Daniel Rogers, drowned in Black Rock Cove,⁴ is also correct, as *illaqueatus* is the word printed in the News-Letter. These several illustrations are a sufficient tribute to the exactness of his classical scholarship.

Prof. WILLIAM W. GOODWIN presented a photograph of two pages of a copy of a letter of Columbus, about which he made the following statement: —

This fragment is the beginning of a letter of Columbus, written in Italian, in which he announces his discovery of the West Indies to certain officials of the Court of Spain. It agrees in substance, except in a few points, with the well-known letter in Spanish, addressed by Columbus to Luis de Santangel, which was dated "on the caravel," Feb. 15, 1493, with a postscript dated March 14. But it appears by the title that it was sent by the Treasurer of the King of Spain to his brother Joane (or Zoane) Sanzio in Florence; and this would seem to identify it with the letter addressed by Columbus to the Treasurer, Gabriel (or Raphael) Sanchez (Sanchis or Sanxis), which was dated at Lisbon, March 14, 1493, and is known to us only in a Latin version made April 29, 1493. But the Italian fragment differs much more from the Latin than from the Spanish copies. Moreover, the Italian is addressed to several persons, who are called "Signori," while the others are written to a single official. The chief point in which the Italian differs from both of the other letters is in calling the second island (which is elsewhere named "Santa Maria de Concepcion") "Santa Maria de la Consolation."

Mr. R. H. Major, in his "Select Letters of Columbus" (2d ed. 1870), p. cxxxvi, speaks of receiving from the Marquis d'Adda a photo-lithograph of a fragment of an Italian version of the first letter of Columbus, of which Senhor de Varnhagen

¹ 5 Mass. Hist. Coll., vol. vi. p. 160.

² Ibid., p. 170.

³ Ibid., p. 181.

⁴ Ibid., vol. vii. p. 321.

had found the title in the catalogue of the Ambrosian Library in Milan. Mr. Major gives the readings of his Italian copy under the Spanish text of the letter wherever he notes an important variation; but he does not notice the name "Consolation" above mentioned, and he gives a variation from a line of the Italian which goes beyond the end of the text now before us. Further, this photograph is one of a small number which were taken, in 1883, from an original in the Municipio of Genoa, at the request of our associate, Professor James B. Thayer. It seems probable, therefore, that this is not precisely identical with the Italian fragment in Mr. Major's possession.

Mr. Major compares the different statements made in different versions of the letter as to the length of the north coast of Hispaniola. This is stated in two places, in the second of which (not included in the Italian text) nearly all versions are wrong. But in the first, where the texts of the Latin (that is, the Sanchez) letter generally have the right measure, 564 miles, the Italian version agrees with them, giving 188 leagues; while the only Spanish version which is right is that of the Valencia manuscript, and the title of this represents the letter as addressed, not to Luis de Santangel (like all the other Spanish copies), but to *Gabriel Sanchez*.

No suggestion is made as to the relation of this Italian fragment to the Spanish and the Latin versions.

The Italian text is as follows:—

Copia de una letra scritta dal armiralgio Colon del Signor re de Spagna laqual scrive ala corte regal ad certi¹ . . . del Sign. re mandata dal grando tesorir del ditto Signor in fiorenza al fratello Zoan Sanzio.

Signori per che faro che avereti pratir de la grande victoria che nostro Signor me ha conceduto vi scrivo questa per la qual sapereti como in zorni 33 son passado in India con larmada che lo re e la regina nostri signori mi detino. Onde io ho trovado molte isole popolate de gente senza numero de le quai isole ho tolto la possession per la lor excellencia con grida et bandiera real distesa. Et non mi fuo contradetto. A la prima isola che ho trovado ho posto nome San Salvatore per commemoration de lalta soa nativitate de dio lo qual miraculosamente ha conceduto tutto questo, e li Indiani la chiammen guanahuní. A la seconda ho posto per nome Santa Maria de la consolation. A la terza la fernandina. A la quarta la ysabella. A la

¹ Conferen. ? See Rezasco, Diz^o. Storico, etc.

quinta Joanna. Et così achadauna de le altre li ho posto nome novo. Quando io arivay a la isola Zoanna ho voltezado seguendo la soa costiera per ponente et la ho trovada tante granda che pensava fosse terre firme zoe la puintia de lo Catayo e così non trovando ne citade ne castelle in la ditta costiera de lo mare: salvo alcune picole habitation de populi con li quali non possendo aver lengua ne parlamento per che subito tuti fuginano: io andava avanti perseguedo lo mio camino pensando de non errar che non dovesse trovar citade o castelle. et in fine de molte leghe de caminy: visto che non era alcuna cosa de novo et la ditta costa mi cazava verso lo septentrione che era lo stessio che lo camin che io pensava e che voleva far. per che gia lo inverno era intrato et io aveva in proposito mio de andar verso lo austro et de zonta anche lo vento me fuo strano per tanto io avi determinado de non aspetar piu altro tempo. Et pero voltai mi indriedo tornando per fin ad uno dignissimo porto. de lo qual mandai doy mei homeni in terra molto fra terra per saper e per lintender si era algun re overo citade o castelle dentro. et andandi fra terre tre zornade trovaron molti populi de zente in piccoli logi per ben che molto stessi et zente senza numero. non pero cosa de regimento. e così tornaron ditti homenj mei et ho inteso che certo da lori indiani liquali io teniva presi in navi como questa terra era una isola. e così ho perseguido la costa di quella verso loriente certo per sette leghe. per fin ala fine et ultimo dela ditta isola dal qual capo era una altra ysola verso loriente longe da questa xviii leghe ala qual isola de subito holli posto per nome novo la spagnola et anday dila et ho perseguido verso la parte del septentrion così como ho fatto de la isola Zoanna al oriente cento otanta otto leghe per la dritta linea del oriente così como de la Joanna. Laqual conzosiache tute le altre sono fortissime in desmesurado e grandissimo grado questa e molto in extremo piu assay. In questa sonno molti porti in la costa del mare senza comparison de le altre che io sapia de li logi di cristiani. Et molti boni et grandi fiume che e cosa maravelosa. lo paese suo e alteroso et in quella sono molti monti et grande montagne altissime senza comparison de la isola de santesseo. Et tute queste isole sono formosissime et de molte maynere. et tuto le ho bene circondado et voltezaide. et piene de arbori de molte condition liquali sono tanto longi et alti che par tochano el cielo. Et mi persuado de certo che may non perdeno e non li caschano le folgie secondo che ho possudo comprendere per che li ho veduti tanto belli et verdi como sone de majo li arbori in la spagna et de quelli alcuni eran con fiori et alcuni con i frutti altri in altro modo secondo che era la lor qualita et condition. Cantavan i rosignoli et altri oseletti de mille mainere in mezo de sto mese de novembrio. Et così io anday passezando per quelli logi. Et in questo isola sono palmi e datalari de sette et otto condition che e cosa de maraveglia de quelle a comparison de le nostre

molto piu formose. Et cosi li soy arbori de herbe soe piu de le nostre et ha arbori de piu maravelosi et campagne grandissime et miele et de molte condition uve et frutti molto diverse da le nostri et ha molte miniere de metalli et zenti de numero inextimabile. E la ditta Spagnola e cosa di granda admiration dale montagne alpestre et coste de campagne da rigar et pianure et campagne e li tereni formosi e grassi per plantar e per seminar et per mantegnir et far ogni condition de bestiam e per far hediftij de citade et castelle. Et li porti de lo mare molti che li sono non si potria creder se non fossen veduti et de molti fiumi et grandi e de boni ague. Deli quali la major parte se ritrova oro perche portano oro. In li arbori et in le frutte et in le herbe e granda differentia da quelle che sonno in la isola Zoanna. In questa Spagnola sono de molte spetie et grande mine de oro et de molti altri metalli. La jente de questa isola e de tute le altre che ho trovado ho inteso che tuti vanno tuti nudi cosi li homenij

armiralgio COLON.

Professor GOODWIN also laid before the Society a printed copy of the newly discovered manuscript of Aristotle's treatise on the Constitution of Athens, which has just been published by the British Museum, and made some general remarks on its historic importance, as follows:—

This is one of a series of treatises on forms of government written by Aristotle, which is mentioned in an ancient catalogue (perhaps taken from that of the Alexandrian Library), under the title "The Constitutions of one hundred and fifty-eight States, democratic, oligarchical, aristocratic, and tyrannical." Of this collection, only fragments have hitherto been known. The beginning of this is lost, and the last chapters are badly mutilated. The first sentence that remains contains the last words of the story of Cylon's conspiracy, and mentions the denunciation of the curse against the Alcmaeonidae, the sentence of eternal banishment against the living members of the family, and the casting the dead from their graves, with the purification of the city by Epimenides of Crete. These events have generally been placed after the legislation of Draco (620 B. C.), but Aristotle gives them an earlier date. The Constitution of Draco is briefly mentioned. It appears that he established a Senate of four hundred and one members, chosen *by lot* from the ruling aristocracy. Magistrates were chosen by vote until the time of Solon. Draco admitted to the franchise all

who could supply themselves with arms. It is surprising to find a senate, distinct from the Areopagus, in Draco's time, but still more so to find it chosen by lot. Grote always maintained, against all tradition, that it was impossible that the lot could have been introduced for the choice of magistrates before the establishment of the complete democracy after the Persian wars, denying even that it was a part of the constitution of Cleisthenes. It now appears that the lot was established by Solon for the choice of magistrates, even for the Archons; but we now for the first time understand what an innocent institution the lot was, at least in its earlier form. By Solon's law, each of the four Attic tribes chose ten men *by vote*, and these forty selected candidates (πρόκριτοι) drew lots for the nine archonships. It is uncertain (owing to obscurities in the text of Aristotle) whether the number of candidates in the age of Pericles was one hundred or five hundred; but it was probably one hundred, — ten from each of the new tribes. It is now settled that Solon abolished all debts, private and public, as a preliminary step to his constitutional reforms; and the plausible arguments which have persuaded most modern scholars that the only relief given by Solon to the "debtor class" came from a reduction of the coinage and from the abolition of the right of holding the debtor's person as security for his debt, are now finally disposed of. It is now, however, perfectly plain that the reduction of the weight of the coins, by which a hundred new drachmas were made equal to about seventy of the old standard, was a purely commercial measure, introduced at the end of Solon's legislation, and had nothing to do with the cancelling of debts. It appears, further, that the earlier Attic coins and weights were not, as has been supposed, of the Pheidonian or Aeginetan standard, which was in common use in most of the Greek States, but were considerably heavier, so that Athens must have been somewhat isolated as a place of trade. When she adopted the Euboean standard of coins and weights under Solon, she entered into close commercial relations with Corinth, with the towns of Euboea, and probably with other important centres of trade.

Aristotle gives us many interesting details of the constitution of Cleisthenes, especially as to the composition of the ten new tribes, and the care taken to avoid local factions. After the Persian wars, according to Aristotle, Athens was governed

for seventeen years, and "well governed," by the Areopagus, having Aristides as counsellor in politics, and Themistocles in war. But in 462 B. C. Ephialtes made his attack on the venerable Senate, aided by a bold and clever trick of Themistocles; and all the powers of the Areopagus, which made it the "guard of the Constitution," were suddenly swept away. By this it appears that Themistocles was in full influence at Athens, just anticipating his trial for treason, in 462 B. C. A mere glance at the chronology of this period will show how many important dates must be changed to agree with this statement. At the period of the highest prosperity and power of Athens, according to Aristotle's careful computation, more than twenty thousand citizens received support from the public treasury. The work takes comparatively little notice of Pericles as a statesman, and Aristotle evidently thought little of him as a constitutional reformer. The temporary oligarchy of Four Hundred in 411 B. C., and the government of the Thirty Tyrants, with the restoration of the democracy, are described at length.

With the year 403 B. C., the historical part of the work ends. The remainder is occupied with a description of the government of Athens as Aristotle knew it. Many of the most important parts of this have been preserved by quotations made by the Greek grammarians, though the source of the passages quoted has generally not been given. On one important matter, the appointment of the Prytanes and Proëdri, from whom was chosen the president of the Senate and the Assembly, it is a great satisfaction to those who have long upheld the authority of Pollux, Harpocration, and Suidas, against that of unknown scholiasts, to find the fragments which they have quoted from these grammarians now appearing in full, with much that makes them clearer, in the text of Aristotle. This is a point on which nearly all English authorities, including Grote, the older edition of Smith's Dictionary of Antiquities, and even the latest edition of Liddell and Scott (except in the errata), have been in error.

It is still perhaps too early to appreciate the full value of this important and unexpected discovery; but enough can be seen by a hasty examination to show that many chapters of Greek history and almost every chapter of the antiquities of Athens must be revised by its help.

Mr. A. C. GOODELL, JR., exhibited some memoranda in the handwriting of Judge Sewall, on a loose sheet of foolscap paper, which had been in the possession of the New England Historic, Genealogical Society for a number of years, and which are supposed to be referred to in Sewall's Diary, under date of May 25, 1720.¹ They are as follows: —

Election, May, 25. 1720.

				92
The Hon ^{ble}	1	William Dummer Esqr . .	70	27
	2	Samuel Sewall . . .	107	11. 119. Voters.
	3	Penn Townsend . . .	113	D; Oliver - 46
	4	John Apleton . . .	85	24
	5	Samuel Partridge . .	104	
	6	Edward Bromfield . .	67	1
	7	William Tailer . . .	110	
	8	Nathaniel Norden . .	96	
	9	Benj. Lynde . . .	106	7
	10	Addington Davenport .	115	
		Jn ^o Clark	110	Neg.
	11	Tho. Hutchinson . .	117	
	12	Samuel Brown . . .	107	
	13	Tho. Fitch	110	
	14	Jonathan Belcher . .	64	
	15	Jonathan Dowse . .	99	
	16	Samuel Thaxter . .	101	
	17	John Burril	103	at once before eight a-clock.
		Paul Dudley Esqr . .	56	
		Plimouth	91	
			27	
			118	voters
		Nathan ^l Byfield . . .	103.	Neg.
		Isaac Winslow . . .	114	
		John Cushing	112	
		John Otis	105	
		Main	81	} 108. voters 108.
			27	
		John Wheelwright Esqr	102	
		Joseph Hammond . .	84	
		Charles Frost	99	

¹ See 5 Mass. Hist. Coll., vol. vii. p. 254.

Zagadahoc $\left. \begin{array}{r} 82 \\ 27 \end{array} \right\} 109. \text{ voters.}$

Paul Dudley Esqr 59 [Col. Winthrop 50]

At Large . . . $\left. \begin{array}{r} 78 \\ 27 \end{array} \right\} 105 \text{ voters.}$

Edmund Quincey Esqr . . . 95

Nathan¹ Pain 53 [46. Winthrop]

Governour
J. Winslow
J. Apleton
Partridge
Pain
Cushing
Wheelwright
Quincey
[D]ows
Thaxter
Frost
Hamond
Byfield
Lynde
Brown
Otis

Cushing

Wheelwright

Quincey

[D]ows

Thaxter

Frost

Haṃond

Byfield

Lynde

Brown

Otis

May, 25. 1720. Dudly Speaker

Tutius est infra, quam supra Auctoritatem Iudiciū ferre.

There is matter of great concernment before your excellency, importing no less than the constitution of the Government: I am humbly of opinion it will be most convenient to go forward with the Election; expressing your Excellencies determination to take time till Friday or Saturday, or the beginning of the ne[xt] week to consider of the Affair of the Speaker

Past 5.

Chandler, Dudley, Coffin message

The House have chosen Elisha Cooke Esqr y^r Speaker

Gov^r He has treated me ill, and I do negative hi[m] according to y^e power given me by the Charter, a[nd] I direct the House to proceed to y^e Choice of another Speaker.

When they were return'd/

I spake what is above

Mr. Davenport Spake to y^e same purpose

Col. Apleton, your Excellency m[ay] let y^e Election proceed, and then dissolve the [Asse]mbly

Mr. Belcher back'd what I said.

Mr. Noyes & 4 more brôt in a Messa[ge th]at yy had chosen Elisha Cooke Esqr y^r Speaker according to y^r undoubted Right by Charter. Wouïd proceed to choose councillours.

Gov^r I have Negatived him, and he is no Speaker.

20 minuts past Six Board sends in a Message y^t would join with y^e House in chusing 18 Councillours. Chose Tellers of y^e votes. Gov^r was now gon. sd he would say nothing one way or other

Feria Quinta, May 26. 1720. a little before Eleven; His Excellency comes into Council, and as soon as he was set in y^e Chair imēdiatly Adjourned the Council to four a-clock after Noon.

Rev. Dr. Samuel E. Herrick was elected a Resident Member to fill the vacancy occasioned by the death of the Rev. Dr. Henry M. Dexter; and Mr. Alexander Brown, author of "The Genesis of the United States," was elected a Corresponding Member.